A SHORT VIEVV OF THE Long Life and Raigne of HENRY the Third, King of ENGLAND.

Presented to King IAMES.

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A Short view of the long Raigne of *Henry the third.*

WEaried with the lingring calamities of Ciuill Armes, and afrighted at the ſudden fall of a licencious Soueraigne, all men ſtood at gaze expecting the euent of their long deſires (Peace) and iſſue of their new hopes (Benefit.) For in euery ſhift of Princes there are few either ſo meane or modeſt that pleaſe not themſelues with ſome probable obiect of preferment. To ſatisfie all, a child aſcendeth the throne, mild and gracious, but eaſie of nature, whoſe Innocency and naturall goodneſse led him ſafe along the various daungers of his fathers Raigne: Happy was hee in his Vnkle the Earle of *Pembrook*, the guide of his infancy, and no leſſe then for thirty yeares after whilſt *De Burgo*, that faſt ſeruant of his Fathers a- Hiſt. minor. Math. Paris.

gainſt the *French*, both in *Normandy* and *England* with *Bygod* Earle of *Norfolke*, and others of like grauity and experience did manage the Affaires. Few and no other were the diſtempers then in State, but ſuch as are incident to all, the Commons greedy of liberty, and the Nobillity of Rule, and but one violent ſtorme raiſed by ſome old and conſtant followers of his Father, *Fulco de Brent de Fortibus* and others, men that could onely thriue by the warres, miſliking thoſe dayes of ſloath: (for ſo they termed that calme of King *Henries* gouernement;) and the rather becauſe the luſtice of quiet times vrged from them to the lawfull owners, ſuch Lands and Caſtles as the fury of war had vniuſtly giuen them, for finding in the vprightneſſe of the King, that power of protection ſhould not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that with it, ended their liues and competitors; profeſsing that thoſe their ſwords that had ſet the Crown vpon their Soueraignes head

Math. Paris. Hiſt. maior.

Hiſt. Sancti. Albani.

head, when neither Maieſtie nor Lawe could, ſhould now ſecure thoſe ſmall pittances to their Maiſters, when Maieſty or Lawe would not. Dangerous are too great benifits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind only capable of merrit, nothing of duty. No other diſquiet did the ſtate after this feele, but ſuch as is incident in all, the mallice to Authority: Good and great men may ſecure themſelues from guilt, but not from enuy: for the greateſt in truſt of publicke affaires are ſtill ſhot at by the aſpiring of thoſe that deeme themſelues leſſe in imployment then they are in merrit. Theſe vapours did euer and eaſily vaniſh ſo long as the helme was guided by temporate ſpirrits, and the King tied his Actions to the rule of good Councell, and not to young paſſionate or ſingle aduiſe.

Thirty yeares now paſſed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but *de Burgo*, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation,) whoſe length Chro. *de* Duuſt loan, *de* VVal- lingford.

of dayes giuing him the aduantage of ſo'e power, his owne Ambition and Age gaue him deſire, and Art, to keepe out others, which wrought him into the fatal enuy of moſt, and that encreaſed in the Title of Earle, & great Offices the King then gaue him. *Time* by this, had wrought, as in it ſelfe, ſo in the hearts of the people, a Reuolution, the afflictions of their fathers forgotten, and the ſupfeit of long peace; perchance hauing let in ſome abuſes, from hence, the Commons to whom dayes preſent ſeeme euer worſt, commend the foregone ages they neuer remembred, and condemne the preſent, though they knew neither the diſeaſe thereof, nor the remedy.

Chron. de Litchfield. To theſe idle and vſuall humors, fell in ſome of the young and noble ſpirites, warme and over-weaning (who being as truly ignorant as the reſt) firſt by ſullying the wiſdome of the preſent and greateſt rulers, (making each caſuall miſhap their Errors:) ſeeme to decypher euery

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blemish in Gouernment, and then by holding certayne imaginary and fantasticke formes of Common-wealths, flatter their owne beleefe and ability, that they can mold any State, to these generall rules, which in particular application will proue idle and grosse absurdities.

Next confirmed in their owne worth by *Sommery* and *Spencer*, they take it a fit time to worke themselues into action, and imployment, a thing they had long desired, and now (though vnwilling to seeme so) doe sue for, and doubtlesse the furtheſt of their ayme was yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had beene then held fit and worthy. Gual. de Couen.

But the King taught by the new Earle, That *Consilia senum hastas juvenum esse*; and that such wits, (for so they would be stiled) were *Nouandis quam gerendis rebus aptiores*, fitter in being factious to disorder, then to settle affayres, eyther denyed or delayed their desires; for wise Princes will ever choose their Instruments *Par negotijs*, and

not

not *ſupra*, Creatures out of meere election, that are onely theirs, otherwiſe, without friends or power.

Math. Paris. Hiſt. minor.

Amongſt this vnequal medly, there were of the Nobility, *Richard* Earle of *Pembrook*, *Gloceſter*, and *Hartford*, darlings of the multitude; ſome for the merrit of their Fathers, whoſe memories they held Sacred, as Pillars of publike liberty and oppoſers of encroaching Monarchy: at *Runemeed* the Armies met. And of the Gentry, *Fitz-Geffeory*, *Bardolph*, *Griſley*, *Maunſell* and *Fitz Iohn*, ſpirits of as much Acrimony and Arrogant ſpleene, as the places from whence they were elected Campe, Court, or Countrey, could affoord any: Theſe by force would effect what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient, to ſee their ends thus fruſtrate, and that ſo long as the King followed the direction of the Earle of *Kent*, they had ſmall hope of their deſires, they made often meetings; and as one ſayth of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquiis aut*

Cron. Petri Petauien.

Math. Paris.

flexum

flexum in veſperum die.

In the end, *Sommery* and *Spencer*, two that were farre in opinion with the reſt, Gentle-men, by Forraine education and imployment, more quallified then vſually men of theſe Times; and that ſet vppon their owne deſerts, the beſt places when the Streame ſhould turne, (which one of them, *Spencer*, did vnworthily obtayne, for he dyed in actuall Rebellion, *Iuſticiarius Angliæ*, againſt his maſter) adviſed that the beſt meanes to remoove that great and good obſtackle, the Earle of *Kent*, out of the way of their advancement, was by ſifting into his actions, and ſiding with his oppoſite, *Peter* Biſhop of *Winchester*, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making ſtill their ends, that the worthieſt beeing driuen out by the worſt, they ſhall eyther be able to mate him with his owne vice, which will bee euer more viſible, as hee is more potent, and ſo remoove him at pleaſure; or elſe giue over the King to ſuch Miniſters, to their bad

desires, as loosing him the hearts of his people, might smooth them away to their bad desires, *Honores quos quieta Reipublica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.* Thus Counsell heard, approoued and put in practise, the corrupt and ambitious Bishop is easily insnared to their part, by mony and opinion, of encrease of power.

Cicero in Cattal. line Orat. prima.

Articles are in all hast forged, and vrged against the Earle, as sale of Crowne land; wast of the Kings Treasure; and lastly, (that which these doubtfull times held capitall) his giuing allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture between the Soueraigne and the Subiects, as hee had done in making way with the King, to annihilate all Patents granted in his nonage, and enforced the subject to pay as the Record sayth, *Non juxta singulorum facultatem, sed quicquid Iusticiarius estimabat.*

Lib. Bermondsey vita abbatis sancti albani.

Lib. Bermondsey vita abbatis sancti albani.

Well: hee cleared himselfe of all, but the last, and did worthily perish by it; for

for acts that fill Princes Coffers, are euer the ruines of their first Inventors; bad times corrupt good Councells, and make the best Ministers, yeelde to the lust of Princes, therefore this King cannot passe blameleſſe, that would ſo easily blemish all former merrits, of ſo good a ſeruant, for that wherein himſelfe was chiefe in fault.

But Princes natures are more variable, and ſooner cloyd then others, more tranſitory their fauours, and as their mindes are large, ſo they easily ouer-looke their first election, tying their affections, no further then their owne ſatiſfactions.

The Biſhop now alone manageth the State; chooſeth his chiefe Inſtrument, *Peter De Rivallis*, a man like himſelfe, diſplaceth his natiues, ann draweth *Poictiens* and *Brittons* into Offices of beſt truſt, and benefit; and the King into an euill opinion of his people. For nothing is more againſt the nature of the Engliſh, then to haue ſtrangers rule ouer them, of

this mans time, *Wendouer*, an Author then liuing, ſayth, *Iuditia committuntur injuſtis Leges ex legibus Pax diſcordantibus juſtitia iniurioſis.* Thus the plot of the tumultuous Barons went cleare, and had not the diſcreeter Biſhops calmed all by dutifull perſwaſions, and informing the King that the ſupport of this bold mans power (whoſe carriage before had loſt his Father, *Normandy* the loue of his people, and in that his Crowne) would by teaching the ſonne to reject in paſſion the juſt petitions of his loyall Subjects, (as of late the Earle of *Pembrooke* his Earle Marſhall of *England* the due of his Office) driue all the ſtate into diſcontent by his bad aduiſe, and corrupt manners; doubtleſſe the rebellious Lords had ended this diſtemper, as their deſigne was, in a ciuill Warre.

Regis Roffen.

Annalis de Ely.

Denials from Princes muſt bee ſupplyed with gracious vſage, that though they cure not the ſore, yet they may abate the ſence of it; but beſt it is, that all fauours

come

come directly from themſelues; denialls and things of bitterneſſe from their Miniſters.

Thus are the ſtrangers all diſplaced and baniſhed, *Riuallis* extortions ranſackt, by many ſtrict Commiſions of enquiry; the Biſhop ſent away digraced, finds now that *Nulla quæſita ſcelere potentia diuturna*; and that in Princes fauours there is no ſubſiſtance betweene the higheſt of all, and precipitation. The Lords ſtill fruſtrate of their malicious ends, beganne to ſow of theſe late grounds of the peoples diſcontent, *Querelas & ambiguos de principe ſermones & quæq; alia turbamenta vulgi*, and tooke it vp a faſhion to endeare and glorifie themſelues with the ſenceleſſe multitude, by depraving the Kings diſcretion, and Gouernement, whoſe nature too gentle for ſuch inſolent ſpirits, was forced (as *Treuet ſayth*) to ſeeke as he preſently did, adviſe and loue amongſt ſtrangers, ſeeing no deſert could purchaſe it at home, all bore themſelues like Tutors and Con- Clauſ. anno 37 H. 3. M. 26. Chron. Hall.

trollers, few like ſubjects and Counce l-lours. God wee ſee holdeth the hearts of Princes, and ſendeth them ſuch Councel-lors as the quality of the ſubiect merriteth.

Chron. Litchf. For *Mountford* a *French-man* became the next Obiect of the Kings Delight, a Gentle-man of choyce blood, education, and feature, on this mans content, the beady affection of the Soveraigne did ſo much Doate, that at his firſt entrance of Grace, in enuy of the Nobility, hee made him Earle of *Leiceſter*; and in no leſſe of-fence of the Cleargy, by violating the rites of the holy Church, gaue him his vowed, vailed, ſiſter to wife. More of Arte then vſually ſome haue deemed this act of the Kings, making the tye of his dependancy, the ſtrength of his aſſurance, ſo both at his will.

Math. Paris. Roger VVen-douer.

Chron. Ioan, Sulgraue. *Mountford* made wanton thus with dal-liance of his Maiſter, forgetteth modera-tion, for ſeldome diſcretion in youth at-tendeth great and ſuddaine fortunes, hee draweth all publike affayres into his owne hands

hands, all fauours muſt paſſe from him, all preferments by him, all ſuites addreſſed to him, the King but as a cypher ſet to adde to this figure, the more of number. Great is the Soueraignes errour, when the hope of ſubiects muſt recognize it ſelfe bee holden to the ſeruant, which ought immediately to bee acknowledged, from the goodneſſe and good election of himſelfe: Though Princes may take aboue others ſome repoſefull friend, with whom they may participate their neereſt paſſions; yet ought they ſo to temper the affayres of their fauour, that they corrupt not the effects of their principallities.

At this the great and graueſt men began to grieue, knowing the vnworthy without honour, or merrit, thus to deale alone in that which ſhould paſſe through their hands, and to leape ouer all their heads, to the greateſt Honour and Offices, and therefore runne along with the then riſing grace of the Kings halfe brethren, (though ſtrangers) hoping thereby to

deuide

deuide that power, which otherwiſe they ſaw impoſſible to breake.

Chron. Reading. *Leiceſter* confident of his Maiſters loue, and impatient to beare eyther riuall in fauour, or partner in rule, oppoſeth them all, but findeth in his ebbe of fauour, the Fortune of others, and that this King could euer as eaſily tranſferre his fancy as he had ſetled his affection. Great we ſee muſt be the arte and cunning of that man, that keepes himſelfe a floate in the ſtreame of Soueraignes fauour, ſince the change of Princes wils, which for the moſt part are ful of fancy and ſoone ſatiate are hardly arreſted: Who ſo would effect this, muſt only attend the honour and ſeruice of his Maiſter, and diſpoyled of all other reſpects, tranſforme himſelfe into his inward inclination and worke into neceſſity of imployment, by vndergoing the Offices of moſt ſecrecy, eyther of publicke ſeruice, or princes pleaſures, he muſt alſo beate downe Competitors of worth by the hands of others, conceale his owne greatneſſe

greatnes in publicke, with a fained humility, and what impotency or gouernment he affecteth, let it rather ſeeme the worke of others, out of conveniency, then any appetite of his owne.

Now were the raynes of rule, by this advantage, taken by the rebellious Lords, and put alone into the hands of the Kings halfe brethren: *Adam, Guido, Godfray*, and *William*, himſelfe as before, *Et magna Fortuna licentiam tantum vſurpans*: For to act his owne part, hee was ever wyer-drawne when hee had ſuch worthy ſervants as would often for his Honour vrge it. For theſe Maſters (*as Willingford termeth them*) *Tanta elati jactantia quod nec ſuperiorem ſibi intelligunt, nec parem mollitiis & mollitiis adulationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntatis à ratione tramite declinantes*, do alone what they liſt. They fill vp the place of Iuſtice and Truſt, with their Country-men, ſtrangers, exact of whom, how and what they they pleaſe; waſte the Treaſure and Crown Lands on themſelues, and their followers,

Hen. Knighton Mon. Leiceſt.

set prices on all offices, and rayne the Lawe within the rule of their owne Brests. The vsuall reply of their seruants, to the playnts of the Kings subjects, beeing *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus rex vult; quod Dominus meus vult*; these strangers seemed in their Lawlesse carriage not to haue bin inuited, but to haue entred the state by Conquest: The great men they enforced not to obey, but to serue, and the meane to liue so as they might justly say, they had nothing, yet least the King should heare the groanes of his people, and the wickednesse of his Ministers, which good and able men would tell him, they barre all such accesse: Suspition beeing the best preseruer of her owne deserts, aymeth at these, who hath more of vertue then themselues, as fearing them most. Thus is the incapacity of governement in a King, when it falls to bee prey to such Lawlesse Minions, the ground of infinite corruption in all the members of the State, all take

Wil. de Rishanger.

Lib. Monastery Ramsty.

take warrant generally from Princes weakeneſſes, of licencious liberty, and greatneſſe makes profit particularly by it, and therefore giue way to encreaſe ill, to encreaſe their gaynes.

A Famine accompanieth theſe corruptions, and that ſo violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writes to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes mortuos ſepeliendos famis media deficientes*: Famine proceedes, *Fames præceßit & ſecutus eſt gladius tam terribilis vt nemo inermis ſecure poßit, prouincias peruagare*: For all the Villages of the Kingdome were left a prey to the Lawleſſe Multitude: Who *Per diuerſas partes itinerantes velut per Conſenſum aliorum*, (as the Record ſayth) did imply that the factious Lords ſuſpected by the King, had giuen ſome heat to that commotion Seditious Peeres bringing euer fewell to ſuch popular fires.

Clauſ. anno 42 Hen. 3.

Chron. *Londin.*

Wil. de Rishanger

Neyther was the Church without a buſie part in this Tragicke worke for *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Robert* of *Lincolne*, to whom *Mountford* and his faction, *Præ cordialiter adhærebant* were farre ingaged. In ſuch deſignes, Church-men are neuer wanting, and the diſtaſte of the preſent gouernement, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth) will euer bee a knot of ſtrength for ſuch vnquiet ſpirits, who aſwell frame to themſelues ſome other forme of gouernment; then the preſent in the Church, as in the temporall ſtate, as that which with the giddy multitude winneth beſt opinion, and did at this time fitly ſuite the peoples humours, ſo much diſtaſting the new Courts of the Clergy, their pompe, their greedines and the Popes extortions.

A fayre pretext was it to thoſe factious Biſhops, to vſe their bitter pens and ſpeeches; ſo farre agaynſt Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the ſentence of

of Excommunication at *Rome*, and Treaſon at home; for hee enjoyned the Earle of *Leiceſter* in *Remiſſione peccatorum vt cauſam illam* (meaning his Rebellions) *uſquæ ad mortem aſſumeret, aſſerens pacem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ nunquam ſine gladio materiali poße firmari.* It was not the beſt Doctrine that this man could plant, by liberty or warre when the firſt Church roſe by faſting and prayer. Math. Paris. Wil. de Riſhanger

True Pitey binds the Subiect to deſire a good Soveraigne, but to beare with a bad one, and to take vp the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time ſo to deſerue abatement, then reſiſt authority.

Church-men therefore ought not alwayes to leade vs in the rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our owne duties, in difficult poynts of Religion, where an humble ignorance, is a ſafe and ſecure knowledge, wee may relye vpon them.

To ſupreſſe theſe troubles, and ſupply

Barth. Colon. the kings extremity, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of those Lords,
Chro. Norwic. who as little meant to releeue the King
Chro. Worc. as they did to acquiet the State, their ende at that time beeing onely to open at home the pouerty of their Maister, to lessen his reputation abroad, and to braue out their owne passions freely, whilst those times of liberty permit.

Here they began to tell him hee had wronged the publicke State in taking to his priuate election the Iustice, Chancel-
M. Paris. lour and Treasurer, that should bee onely by the Common Councell of the Realme,
Wendouer. commending much the Bishop of *Chicester* for denying deliuery of the great Seale but in Parliament where hee receiued it.

They blame him to haue bestowed the
Wallingford. best places of trust and benefit in his gift
Paris. on strangers, and to leaue the *English* vnrewarded, to haue vndone the trade of Mer-

Merchants by bringing in Maletools and heauy cuſtomes, and to haue hurt the common liberty by *non obſtantes* in his Patents, to make good Monopolies for priuate fauorites. Wil. de Riſbanger.

That he hath taken from his Subiects *quicquid habuerunt in eſculentis & poculentis Ruſticorum enim equos bigas vina victualia ad libitum capit.* Chron. Sancti Albani.

That his Iudges were ſent in Circuits vnder pretext of Iuſtice to fleece the people, *Cauſis fictitijs quoſcunque poterant diripuerunt.*

And that Sir *Robert de Purſlowe* had wrung from the Borderers of his Forreſt vnder pretence of encrochments or aſſarts, great ſummes of money.

And therefore they wonder that he ſhould now demaund reliefe from his ſo pilled and polled Commons, who by their former extremities *& per auxilia prius data ita depauperantur vt nihil aut parum habeant in bonis.* And therefore aduiſed Gual. de Couentry.

ſed him, that ſince his needleſſe expence, *Poſtquam regni cœpit eſſe dilapidator*, was ſummed vp by them to aboue 800000. l. It were fitting to pull from his fauourites, who had gleaned the Treaſure of his Kingdome, and ſhared the olde Lands of the Crowne, ſeeing one of them there whom the Lords deſcribed to bee *Miles litteratus*, or *Clericus militaris*, who had in ſhort ſpace from the inheritance of an acre, growne to the Poſſeſſion of an Earledom; and *Manſel* another inferiour Clearke that (beſides 50. promotions with the cure of ſoules) roſe to diſpend in annuall reuenue 4000. marks, whereas more moderate Fees would haue become a pen-man, no better quallified then with the ordinary fruits of a Writing Schoole; yet if a moderate ſupply would ſuite with the Kings occaſions, they were content to performe ſo farre reliefe in Obedience, as the deſert of his carriage ſhould merrit toward them: And ſo as the Record ſayth, *Dies datus fuit in tres ſeptimanas vt interim Rex exceſſuos*

ſuos

Wil. de Riſhanger

Chron. Litchf.

Hiſt. minor. *Wil. de Riſhanger*

Epiſt. Robert Lincolne.

Math. Paris.

ſuos corrigeret & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.

At which day vppon new grant of the great Charter, admittance to his Councell of ſome perſons elected by the Commons, and promiſe to relye vppon his Natiues, and not Strangers; for aduile hereafter; they ſpare him ſuch a pittance as muſt tye him to their Devotion, for a new ſupply. Mach. Paris. Regis Roffen. Iohan. *de* VVallingford.

Thus Parliaments that before were euer a medicine to heale vp any rupture in Princes fortunes, are now growne worſe then the mallady, ſith from thence more mallignant humors beganne to raigne in them, then well compoſed tempers.

The King by this, experienced of the intents of his rebellious Lords, and finding that the want of Treaſure was the way whereby they enthralled his Maieſty, begins now to play the good husband, cloſeth his hand of waſt, and reſolues himſelfe (too late) toſtand alone; ſuch experience is pernitious to the priuate, and Chron. *de* Leic.

dangerous to the publiqne good of a ſtate, when it neuer learnes to doe, but by vndoing, and neuer ſees order, but when diſorder ſhewes it. Yet ſtill alas, ſuch was his flexibillity when hee came to bee preſſed by his *French* Minions, that hee could not hold his hand any longer, from their vaſte deſires, and endleſſe waſte. So that an Author then liuing, ſayth, it became a by word, *our Inheritance is conuerted to Alliens, and onr Houſes to Strangers.* Followers to a King exceſſiue in guifts, are exceſſiue in demaunds, and cut them not out by reaſon, but by example: Fauours paſt are not accompted, wee loue no bounty but what is meerely future, the more that a Prince weakeneth himſelfe in giuing, the poorer he is of friends: For ſuch prodigallity in a Soueraigne, euer ends in the rapine and ſpoyle of his ſubjects.

Yet before the King would agayne ſubmit himſelfe, as hee had the laſt Parliament, to ſo many braues aud ſtrict inquiries

quires of his diſloyall ſubiects, he meaneth to paſſe through all the ſhifts, that extreamity of neede, with greatneſſe of minde could lay vppon him. He beginneth firſt with ſale of Lands, and then of Iewells, pawneth *Gaſcoyne*, and after that, his Imperiall Crowne; and when hee had neyther credit to borrow, (hauing ſo often fayled, the truſt hee had made,) nor pawnes of his owne, hee then layeth to pawne the Iewells and Ornaments of S^t. *Edwards Shrine*; and in the end, not hauing meanes to defray the dyet of his Court, was enforced to breake vp Houſe, (and as *Paris* ſayth) with his Queene and Children, *Cum Abbatibus & Prioribus ſatis humiliter Hoſpitia quæſiuit & prandia.*

Clauſ. anno 46. & 47. Henry 3.

Clauſ. anno 37. Henry 3.

This low ebbe which agayne the Kings improuidence had brought him to, gaue great aſſurance to the Rebellious Lords, that they ſhould now at the laſt, haue the Soveraigne power, left a prey to their

ambitious deſignes, and to bring it faſter on, they deſire nothing more, then to ſee the Kings extreamity: Conſtrayne a Parliament, for at ſuch times, Princes are euer leſſe then they ſhould be, ſubiects more.

wil. de Riſhanger.

To haſten on the time, and adapt the the meanes, there are ſowne certayne ſeditious rumors, that the Kings neceſſity muſt repayre it ſelfe vppon the fortunes and bleſſings of his people, that hauing nothing of his owne left, hee might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subiects haue meanes to ſupplye.

This tooke fire juſt to their mindes, and wrought a little moouing in the State, which doubtleſſe had flamed higher, if the King had not aſſwaged it by Proclamations, wherein hee declared

claus. anno 49 lib. 3.

Quod quidam malivoli ſiniſtra predicantes, illis falſo ſuggeſſerant illum velle eos indebite gravari, ac jura & libertatos Regni ſub-

ſubuertere, & per ſuggeſtiones illas doloſas & omnina falſas eorum corda à ſua mali dicti one, & fidelitate auerterent, but deſireth, that *Hujuſmodi animorum ſuorum perturbationibus ne finem adhiberent*, for that hee was euer ready to defend them from the oppreſſion of the great Lords, *Et omnia jura & Conſuetudinis eorum debitas bonas, & Conſuetas, in omnibus & per omnia plenius obſeruare*, and that they may reſt of this ſecure: *De voluntate ſua libera, litteras ſuas fecit patentes.* But ſeeing ſtill that Maieſty and right ſubſiſt not without meanes and power, and himſelſe had of neyther, ſo much as would ſtop the preſent breach in his owne wants, or his ſubiects loyalties, hee flyeth to the boſome of his people, for reliefe and Councell.

At *Oxford* they met in Parliament, *Parl. Oxon.* where his neceſſity, met ſo many vndutifull demaunds, that he was forced to render vp to their Rebellious will, his Royall power.

Heere the Commons knowing that, *Quum eligere inceperunt*, they were *Loco libertatis*, ſtood with the King to haue the managing of the State, put to the care of twenty foure, whereof twelue by their election, (whereto they looke ſtrictly) and the other by him, who in all things elſe, was left a Cypher, and in this, whether by feare, or remiſſenes, filled vp his number with *Mountford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spencer*, which beſides the weakening of his owne part, wonne to thoſe his late oppoſites, an opinion of great intereſt they had got in his fauour, hee now hath left neyther election of publicke office, nor priuate attendants, his halfe brethren and their followers, he muſt diſpoyle of all fortune, and exile by preſcription vnder his owne hand, commaunding his Writs, *Pro tranſportatione fratrum ſuorum*, to bee directed to the Earles of *Hartford* and *Surrey*, and not to paſſe eyther their Money, Armes, or Ornaments, *Niſi in forma quam dicti Com-*

Math. Paris.

Chro. Wore.

Chron. Litchf.

mittes

mittes iniunxerent, and after their departure enjoyned the men of *Briſtoll*, that they ſhould not permit any ſtrangers, *Siue propinquos Regis applicare in portu*, but ſo to behaue themſelues therein, that aſwell the King, *Quam Magnates ſui eos merito debeant commendare.* Clauſ. anno 49 Hen. 3.

Thus wee ſee how eaſily mens eſtates doe change in a moment, and how hard it is to make vſe of things ill gotten.

Richard Elect of the Empire, the Kings full Brother, and then beyond Sea, muſt bee wrought by Letter, as his free deſire to confirme by Oath thoſe former reſtrictions of regall power, which though performed, yet would the Lords ſuffer neyther the one or the other, to enter *Douer* Caſtle (the Key of the Kingdome) which they had furniſhed, as moſt of the other Fortes of reputation in the Realme with Guardians of their owne, ſworne reſpectiuely to the State; and then taking the like aſſurance of al the Shrieffes, Bayliffes, *chron. Sancti Albani.* *Reg. Roffen.*

Bayliffes, Coroners, and other publicke Miniſters, ſearching the behauiour of many by ſtrict Commiſſion vppon oath, to winne opinion in ſhewe among the Vulgar, who groaned vnder their late Extortions, whereas their end was truely, as it after prooued, by diſplacing the faythfull Seruants of the King, to open away, to their owne dependants.

Rot. in Scrio.

Wil. de Riſhanger.

Thus changing ſole power into the rule of many, and thoſe by popular election, made the State beleeue, that this forme of limitted pollicy, they had vtterly ſuppreſſed the minde of man, for euer dreaming more vppon the imaginary humours of lycencious Soueraignity: But it fell out nothing ſo, for now euery man beganne to eſtimate his owne worth, and to hammer his head on euery deſigne, that might enlarge his power and commaund.

Then beganne the great men to rent from the bopy of the Crownes, and regall

regall ſigniories, all ſuch royall ſuitors as neighboured any of their owne ſeats, whereto they enforce their ſeruice, and ſo (as the Record ſayth) *Ad ſectas indebitas, & ſeruitutes intollerabiles ſubditos Regis compulerunt*: Thus rayſing meane manners to become great Honours, and renting aſunder the regall Iuſtice, they made themſelues of ſo many ſubiects whilſt they liued in dury, *Totidem Tiranni* (as the Booke of Saint *Albans* ſayth) when they had left their loyalty, *Magnas induxerunt Magnates Regni, ſuper ſubditos Regis ſeruitutes & oppreſſiones*, which they bore patiently; for exceſſe of miſery hauing no eaſe but Cuſtome, made men willing to lay the foundation of ſeruitude by the length of ſufferance, which found no eaſe nor end, vntill the quiet of this Kings Reigne.

Rot. Parlia in Scacar.

Rot. Regis in Scacc. 56 H. 3

Mountford, Glocester and *Diſpencer*, the Heads of this Rebellious deſigne, hauing by the late prouiſions drawne to the hands of the twenty foure *Tribunes*

Wallingford.

of the people, the entire managing of the Royall State, and finding that power too much disperced to worke the end of their desires, forst agayne the King to call a Parliament, where they deliuered ouer the authority of the twenty foure vnto themselues, and Create a *Triumvirate, non Constituenda Republicæ causa,* as they first pretended, for their owne endes, and so in the interest of some priuate contented, the publicke was stayed; but to make a speedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus:* Ambition is neuer so high, but she thinkes still to mount, that station which seemed lately the toppe, is but a steppe to her now, and what before was great in desiring, seemes little, being once in power.

Wil. de Rishanger.

Chro. de Dunst.

These three elect nine Councellours, and appoynt *Quod tres ad minus alternatim semper in curia sint*, to dispose of the custody of Castles, *& de alijs Regni negotijs*, the chiefe Iustice, Chancellour and Treasurer,

Ordinat. inter Rec. Lond.

ſurer with all Offices, *Maiores & minores*, they reſerue the choyce of to themſelues, and bind the King to this hard bargayne vppon ſuch ſtrong ſecurity; that hee is contented vnder the great Seale, and Oath, to looſe to them the knot of Regall duty, whenſoeuer hee aſſumeth to himſelfe his Regall dignity, *Liceat omnibus de Regno noſtro contra nos, inſurgere & ad grauamen noſtrum opem & operam dare ac ſi nobis in nullo tenerentur.* This prodigy of fortune on whom ſhe had ſet a pittifull example of her inconſtancy, finding no part of his Soveraignty left, but the bare Title, and that at their leaue, beggeth ſuccour from *Vrbane the fourth*, agaynſt his diſloyall ſubiects. *Chron. Origin. ſub ſigillo.*

The Pope by his Bul cancelleth his Oath, and contract, and armeth him with Excommunications agaynſt all thoſe that returne not with ſpeede, to their due and old Obedience, ſince promiſes made by men, which cannot ſay they are at liberty, are weake, and force hath no power to make iuſt intereſt.

The Lords on the other ſide that had imped their winges with Eagles feathers, and liked no game now, but what was raked out of the aſhes of Monarchy, made head againſt their Soveraigne, and to mate him the better, called in ayde, ſome French forces: Thus the Common-wealth turned againe her ſword into her owne bowells, and invited her ancient enemy, to the funerall of her liberty; ſo that it was a wonder ſhe ſhould not at this time paſſe vnder a forrayne ſervitude. And though theſe men were more truely ſenſible of their owne diſgrace, then of others miſery: Yet found they no better pretext for priuate intereſt then that of the publicke.

Chron. Litch. *Wil. de Riſhanger.*

Chro, Brettaniæ.

Chron. *Dunſt.*

And therefore at the entry of this war, they cryed liberty, although when they came neere to an end, they neuer ſpake word of it.

At *Lewis* the Armies met, where the King endeauours a reconciliation, but in vayne, for perſwaſions are euer vnprofitable, when Iuſtice is inferiour to force.

Wil. de Riſhanger.

The

The ſword decides the difference, and gaue the two Kings, and their eldeſt Sonnes Priſoners: The perſon now aſwel as the regall power; thus in the hands of *Mountford* and *Gloceſter*, found neyther bond of ſecurity, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatneſſe (which now beganne to break out betweene theſe mighty Riualls,) gaue hope of, for *Leiceſter* meaning by ingroſſing from his partner, to himſelfe, the perſon of the King, and to his followers the beſt portion of the ſpoyle, to draw more fruite from this advantage, then it ſhould in fellowſhip yeeld, diſolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equall Authority with the ſame power, is euer fatall (wee ſee) to all great actions: For to fit mindes to ſo euen a temper, that they ſhould not haue ſome motions of diſſenting is impoſſible.

Mountford hauing thus broken all faith with his Confederates, and duty to his Soueraigne, left the path of moderation

to wisedome to come to the King by that of pride and distrust. To him he telleth that his Armes and ends had no other object euer but order of the State, and ease of the people, that hee did not in this, carry affection against duty, but well knew how to reyne his desires, to his just power, and so no lesse to his Maiesties content, if hee would be ruled; which was to commaund the Fortes and Castles of his now opposite *Gloceſter*, and the rest into his hands. It Was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his inferiour, bnt necessity in Soueraigne affaires doth often force away all formalllity; and therefore this poore Prince, who now at the Victors discretion, seemed to haue beene onely rayſed to shew the inconstancy of fortune and vanity of man; suited himselfe with incomparable wisedome, according to the necessity of the time, Neyther did humillity wrong Maiesty, when there was no other meanes to contayne spirits so insolent but dissembling. He therefore summoneth in his owne person

ſon the forts of his faſteſt friends, to yeeld to his greateſt enemies. This hee enters in ſhew as his lodging, but in effect his Priſon, and ſaw himſelfe forced to arme againſt his friends, and to receiue now Lawe from him, to whom hee lately thought to giue it. Thus *Leiceſter* is becomea darling of the common rout, who eaſily change to euery new Maiſter, but the beſt durſt not ſayle along his Fortune, by the light of his glory: Chriſtall that fairely gliſtereth doth eaſily breake, and as the aſcent of vſurping royalty is ſlippery, ſo the top is ſhaking, and the fall fearefull. To hold this man then at the entry of his falſe felicity fully happy, was but to giue the name of the Image, to the mettle that was not yet molten, for by this the impriſoned Prince was eſcaped, and faſt aſſured of *Glocester*, by the knot of his great minde, and diſcontent, and both with the torne remainder of the loyall Army vnited, and by ſpeedy march arriued vnlooked for, neere *Eueſham*, to the

vnarmed

vnarmed troupes of the ſecure Rebells, whom they inſtantly aſſayled for it, was no fit ſeaſon to giue time, when no time did aſſure ſo much, as expedition did promiſe.

Diſpencer and other Lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the beſt ſpeede for mercy, but cõuld not breake out, beeing hurried along the ſtorme of the giddy multitude.

Publicke motions depends on the Conduct of Fortune; private on our owne carriage, we muſt beware of running downe ſteepe hills, with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo ferũtur pondere*, ſtoppes are not then voluntary; but *Leiceſter* at that inſtant with the King, and out of the ſtorme might haue eſcaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more reſolute by miſfortune, ſo that hee could neyther forſake his followers, nor his ambition; thus making adverſity the exerciſe of his vertue, hee came, and fell.

The

The King by ths bleſſed fortnne freed, and obeyed, began to ſearch the ground of his former miſery, and why that vertue and fortune that had ſo long fetled and maintayned vnder his anceſters the glory of his Empire, had caſt her in his time off, and conſpired with her Enemies to her almoſt ruine, as if they Genius of the ſtate had quiet forſooke her; Here he findes his waſtfull hand had beene too quicke both ouer the fortunes and the bleſſings of his people, the griping Auarice of his ciuill Miniſters and lawleſſe liberty of his Martiall followers, the neglect of grace, and breach of his word, to haue loſt his nobility at home, and neceſſity, his Reputation abroade, by making Merchandize of peace, and warre as his laſt refuge, ſo leauing his old Allies beeame enforced to betake himſelfe to perſons doubtfull, or iniured, and that by giuing ouer himſelfe to a ſenſuall ſecurity and referring all to baſe greedy and vnworthy Miniſters whoſe councells

Rot. pat. 53. H 3. M. 51. Riſhanger:

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were euer more ſubtle then ſubſtantiall, he had throwne downe thoſe pillars of ſoueraignty, and ſafety, Reputation abroade, and Reuerence at home.

Io. Tuxeter, Mon. Bury. Hee now therefore making ſweetneſſe and clemency the entrances of his regayned Rule for the faults of moſt of the late rebells he forgot a gracious kinde of pardoning not to take knowledge of offences, others he forgot, that they might liue but to the glory of his goodnes, for the fewer killed, the more remaines to adorne the Trophee.

Rot. Cart. 51. 52. H. 3.

Tyrants ſhed blood for pleaſure Kings for neceſſity, yet leaſt his Iuſtice and power might to much ſuffer in his grace and mercy, ſome few hee puniſhed by ſmall fines ſome by baniſhment, as the two guiltleſſe yet vnpittied ſonns of the Archtraytor. Treaſon ſo hatefull is to the head, that it draweth (we ſee in this) the carriage of the innocent children into an euerlaſting ſuſpect, and what is ſuſpition in others is guilt in them: Vpon the conſtant

Claus. 52. H. 3. M. 29.

ſtant followers of his broken fortunes he beſtoweth, but with a more wary hand then before the forfeiture of his Enemies: Immoderate liberality he had found but a weake meanes to win loue, for it loſt more in the gathering then it gained in the giuing. This bounty beſtowed without reſpect, was taken without grace, diſcredited the receiuer and detracteth from the iudgement of the giuer, and blunted the Appetites of ſuch, as carried their hopes out of vertue and ſeruice: Thus at laſt he learned that reward and reprehenſion iuſtly layd doe ballance gouerment, and that it much importeth a Prince the hand to bee equall that holdeth the ſcale. Chro. Dunſt.

In himſelfe hee reformed his naturall Errors, Princes manners though a mute law haue more of life and vigour then thoſe of letters, and though he did ſometimes touch vpon the verge of vice hee forbore euer after to enter the circle.

His court where in at this time the faults

of great men did not onely by approbation, but Imitation receiue true comfort, and authorrity, for their crimes now became examples, and cuſtomes, hee purged very iudiciouſly and ſeuerely, ſince from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the common ſtate.

Ordinat. author. Reg. aulæ. Clauſ. 53. H. 3. Riſhanger.

Expence of houſe he meaſureth by the juſt Rule of his proper reuenew and was heard often to ſay, that his exceſſe of waſt before had beene an iſſue of his Subjects blood, the inſolency of his Souldiers made lawleſſe by the late liberties of Ciuill armes he ſpendeth in forraigne expedition. Hauing ſeene that the quiet Spirits vnderwent all the former Calamities, and the other neuer were ſatisfied but in the miſery of Innocents, and would if they had no enemies abroad ſeeke out at home as they had done before.

Pat. 53. & 54. H. 3. Comment. de Trailbaſton.

The rigour and corruption of his judiciall Officers he examineth, and redreſſeth by ſtrict Commiſſion; For the ſence of

of their ſeueritie, became a murmure of his owne cruelty.

The ſeates of Iudgement and Councell he filled up with men nobly borne. For ſuch attract with leſſe offence, the generous ſpirrits to reſpect and reuerence. Their Abilities he meaſureth not by fauour or by Priuate Information as before, but by publike voyce for euery man in particular may deceiue and be deceiued, but no man can deceiue all, nor all one.

And to diſcouer now his owne Capacity and what part he meaneth to beare hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions he ſitteth himſelfe in Councell daily, and diſpoſeth Affaires of moſt weight in his owne perſon. For Councellors be they neuer ſo wiſe or worthy are but as acceſſaries, not principals, in ſuſtentation of the State; their Office muſt be ſubjection, not fellowſhip in conſiderations of moment, and to haue abillity to aduiſe, not authority to reſolue.

For as to liue the Prince muſt haue a perticular ſoule ſo to rule his proper and interne Councell, without the one hee can neuer be truely man, without the other he ſhall neuer be ſecurely a Prince, for it offendeth aſwell the miniſter (of merrit) as the people to force obedience to one vncapable of his owne greatneſſe, or vnworthy of his fortunes. This wonderfull Change to the generall State (ſo hopeleſſe lately to recouer her former libertie, they ſought now for nothing but the mildeſt ſeruitude) brought them home againe with admiration to his devotion and their owne duty.

He that will lay (we ſee) the foundation of Greatneſſe vpon popular loue, muſt giue them eaſe and Iuſtice, for they meaſure the bond of their obedience, by the good alwayes that they receiue.

Barth. Coton Chron. Norw.

This peace attended euer after his Age and hearſe and hee happily liued to faſhion his ſonne and ſucceſſor, and to make him partner of his owne experience and

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auchoritie; whoſe owne hard education trayning him from that intemperance, which makes men inferiour to beaſts: framed him to affect glory, and vertue; which made him ſuperiour to men. So that all the Actions of his future Raigne were exact grounds of Diſcipline, and pollicy; for his beſt ſucceſſour to ruleby after, who as he was the firſt of his name ſince the Conqueſt, ſo was he the firſt that ſetled the law and ſtate, deſeruing the Stile of *Englands Iuſtinian*, and freed this Kingdome from the wardſhip of the Peeres, ſhewing himſelfe in all his Actions after, capable to Commaund not the Realme onely, but the whole world.

Thus doe the wrongs of our Enemies more then our owne diſcretions, make vs ſometimes both wiſe and fortunate.

FINIS.